

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

VOLUME X, NUMBER 12

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOVEMBER 25, 1940

Question of Aid to Britain Is Analyzed

Both Democrats and Republicans Agree It Is Necessary; Now a Matter of National Policy

MUCH HAS ALREADY GONE

How Many More Ships, Aircraft, and Other Materials It Would Be Wise to Send Is Debatable Question

Now that the last echoes of the presidential election have died away, it can probably be said without fear of contradiction that a majority of the American people are not neutral in their feelings toward the war in Europe. On November 5 they cast the largest vote in the history of the United States. On that day nearly 50,000,000 men and women registered their choice between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie, two candidates who differed on many issues but who agreed on at least one thing—that we must do what we can to see that England is not defeated. As President, Mr. Roosevelt has declared that we will support England with all possible aid “short of war.” As the defeated candidate, Mr. Willkie has repeated his support of this policy. Since it is supported by Republicans and Democrats alike, assistance to England seems to have become a settled policy of our government.

Aid Already Given

We have already sent considerable material aid across the seas to England, of course. Just after the war broke out, Allied purchasing commissions arrived here with war orders. That was to be expected. It did not at first affect national policy or neutrality. It was not until Hitler's armies smashed through the western front, late last spring, that the picture changed. Then the Allied purchasers stopped haggling over prices and became very grave. A note of urgency crept into their conversations and letters. It was then that the United States began to send military supplies in large quantities. It was then that the gravity of the situation became clear and our present policy began to take shape.

It is not easy to discover just how much we have done so far to aid the British. Government officials are so reluctant to give out figures that even members of Congress find it difficult to uncover the facts. Inquiries as to the number of aircraft already shipped to Britain, for example, have drawn replies ranging from 750 to 3,000. The actual number of planes shipped to the British Empire in the first nine months of this year is thought to be 1,203.

It is clear, however, that considerable has already been shipped across. In addition to the aircraft already sold, there was the famous exchange of 50 old American destroyers for naval and air bases between Newfoundland and British Guiana. In the first eight months of this year Britain obtained \$110,000,000 worth of arms in this country—including 500,000 to 600,000 rifles, 70,000 to 80,000 machine guns, 6,000 pieces of field artillery, revolvers, automatics, millions of rounds of ammunition, gunpowder, high explosives, mortars, grenades, bombs, torpedoes, mines, depth charges, aerial gun mounts, and poison gas.

In addition Britain has bought from us very large quantities of machine tools (her monthly imports of them rising from \$7,954,000 in July to \$15,070,000 in September), engines, gasoline, steel, mineral ores, aluminum, and other types of com-

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RUSSELL IN LOS ANGELES TIMES

Prolonged Infancy

BY WALTER E. MYER

Psychologists speak of a state or condition which they call “prolonged infancy.” Sometimes they refer to it as “arrested development.” They have in mind the person who continues to think and act as an infant or child after he is old enough to have thrown off childish ways. We are all familiar with these ways or characteristics of early youth. The young child cannot take care of himself, cannot plan, so older people look after him. He assumes no responsibility. He gives no thought to the future. He is concerned only with his immediate wants. He gives much time to the pursuit of pleasure, is greatly concerned with his entertainment. He spends much time in play. He gives little thought to others, being absorbed with his own affairs.

As the child reaches adolescence and approaches adulthood, we expect him to get away, at least partially, from the habits of infancy. He still gives much thought to entertainment. He plays a great deal. This is entirely wholesome—a characteristic of childhood that may be carried even to old age. Happy is the individual who remains playful and fun-loving and enthusiastic and spirited during all his years. But as one grows up we expect him to begin to plan; to think of the future; to play only part of the time; to engage in useful work; to acquire an interest in it. We expect him to have sober, thoughtful moments, and to give consideration to others; to acquire a degree of dignity.

In the earlier days of our national history, boys and girls were likely to make this expected break away from infancy and to make it while still quite young. Children had their duties in those days. There was work for them to do about the farm or shop, and they learned to assume responsibilities. During recent years there has been less for young people to do about the home, and in many cases they have grown up without experience with work or responsibility. Many are coddled and cared for after they have reached years which were formerly associated with work and responsibility. One result is that an increasing number of boys and girls approach adulthood with the habits and mental states of little children. In any high school one will find young people who are childish in outlook. Everyone has seen the student who gives no thought to the future, who is interested only in the pleasures of the moment, who does no planning for himself, who allows himself to be cared for, who does the work he is required to do and no more, and who spends as much time as possible in play. Many are the young people who think that everything should be done for them and who make no attempt to carry their own weight in the boat. Such young people frequently think of themselves as quite grown-up and sophisticated. But in fact they are suffering from arrested development. Their characteristics are still those of childhood. Their infancy has been prolonged and childish habits continue long past the years of their usefulness.

Labor Organizations Meet in Conventions

Ways of Restoring Peace Between Federation of Labor and CIO Are Widely Discussed

MANY POINTS ARE AT ISSUE

Conflict Centers on Type of Labor Organization and General Direction of Labor Movement

As the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations held their annual conventions last week—the AFL in New Orleans and the CIO in Atlantic City—the nation's attention turned once more to the feud of several years' standing which has divided the American labor movement. President Roosevelt had hinted, immediately after the election, that the restoration of labor peace might soon be forthcoming. A large section of the rank and file of both organizations has long urged a reconciliation between the two groups. Moreover, the refusal of John L. Lewis to stand for reelection as head of the CIO was expected to remove one of the obstacles to peace and to pave the way for closing the ranks of organized labor. For much of the controversy of the last five years has raged around the personality of Mr. Lewis.

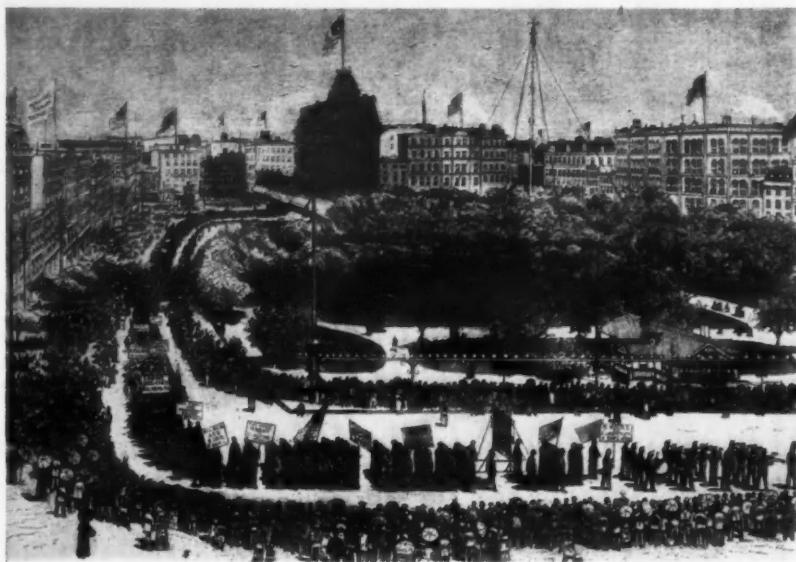
Labor Peace?

As this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER goes to press, the two conventions are still in session. We do not know whether the CIO has accepted Mr. Lewis' withdrawal as president or whether the proposed “draft” movement has been successful in retaining him as leader of the organization. Nor do we know who is likely to be the successor, although the name of Philip Murray has been the one most frequently mentioned. Nor do we know what official attitude the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have taken with respect to composing their fundamental differences. Only one thing is certain, however. The chances of restoring peace in the labor movement are stronger today than they have been at any time since the CIO was organized on November 10, 1935.

Few would deny that the restoration of labor peace is a highly important objective at this time. Labor itself would be far stronger if the workers were united in a single organization, rather than being split in two rival groups, constantly fighting between themselves and frequently causing strikes over disputes with each other. From the standpoint of national defense, labor peace is equally important, for it is vital to the program of rearmament that organized labor cooperate. Without this cooperation, production of tanks and planes and other defense materials may be seriously handicapped. Thus, the restoration of peace between the AFL and the CIO is one of the great public problems of the present time.

It would be a mistake to assume that the conflict between the AFL and the CIO is mainly, or even largely, one of personalities. However important the element of personalities may be, it tells only part of the story. The split in the labor movement goes deeper than that. It goes back far beyond the organization of the CIO in 1935. It hinges primarily upon the question of the method of labor organization, upon the way workers shall be organized in order to protect themselves and further their interests. Let us, therefore, look for a mo-

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A LABOR PARADE IN UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK, IN 1882

CULVER SERVICE

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

History of the Labor Movement

THE annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, discussed elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, were held at a critical time in the history of organized labor. On the one hand, the labor movement has made the greatest strides in its entire history in the recruiting of members and today boasts a membership (AFL, CIO, and the railroad unions) of nearly nine million members. On the other hand, the movement is split and the restoration of peace is essential to the strengthening of organized labor. The coming months will be of great importance in the history of the movement, and it is appropriate at this time to examine the main lines of development in that history.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

The labor movement in the United States was born with the industrial revolution. The deplorable conditions under which workers were obliged to labor—low pay, long hours, unsanitary mills and factories, payment in goods rather than cash, company stores, absence of protective legislation and dozens of others—all led workers to organize themselves into unions to improve their status.

After the Civil War

Before the Civil War, however, most of the labor unions were local and exerted little influence. As a result of the war, industry became more powerful, and workers were quick to recognize the need of organization to protect themselves against unfair practices. The first important attempt to combine labor unions into a powerful national organization came in 1866 with the formation of the National Labor Union, which at one time boasted a membership of some 600,000. It was dealt a severe blow, however, by the depression of 1873, and it never recovered.

The most promising of the early national organizations was the Knights of Labor—at first a secret organization. Its membership grew rapidly until it reached a peak in the eighties. Although there were craft unions in the Knights, it was basically an organization of industrial unions. It undertook to organize all types of workers, men and women, skilled and unskilled, white and colored. For its time it was extremely radical, demanding such reforms as the eight-hour day, income and inheritance taxes, government ownership of public utilities, and the development of cooperatives. Its decline was the result of attempting to accomplish too much in too

short a time and without adequate preparation. Moreover, the Knights of Labor never succeeded in winning over many of the powerful craft unions and thus it suffered from a basic weakness. The American Federation of Labor was organized in 1886. Its nucleus was the strong craft unions, and its leaders adhered to a philosophy widely at variance with that of the Knights of Labor. The leadership frowned upon direct political action and believed that labor could best attain its objectives by presenting a strong labor front to employers. Although it grew slowly at first, it succeeded in pushing the rival organization into the background and in winning for itself the position of spokesman for organized labor.

At no time in its history has the American Federation of Labor represented a majority of American workmen. At its previous peak in 1920, it represented no more than 10 per cent of the workers, the great masses remaining entirely unorganized. But the unions which were affiliated with it had a strong and militant leadership and made substantial gains.

Conflict with AFL

During its entire history, the AFL was dominated by the craft type of labor union and thus represented primarily the skilled laborers of the country. Although a number of industrial unions, including the United Mine Workers of America, were affiliated with it, no serious attempt was made to organize the great mass of unskilled workers into industrial unions. As is pointed out elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, it was this failure that was largely responsible for the breaking away of certain of the industrial unions and the formation of the CIO.

The split in the labor movement which took place five years ago was the result of a dispute of long standing. For years, strong elements within the Federation had urged the adoption of a more aggressive policy with respect to organizing the workers of the great mass-production industries. It was felt that the introduction of mass-production methods called for changes in the methods of organizing workers in order to take in the majority of the unskilled. When those who favored the extension of industrial unionism were defeated year after year, they broke away from the Federation and set up a national organization of their own. Since that time, both the parent organization and the CIO have gained in membership, but the movement as a whole has been seriously weakened as a result of the split. If peace is to be restored today, some method will have to be found by which the needs of both the skilled and the unskilled workers, of both the craft and the industrial unions, can be composed.

Our Neighbors -

WHEN Sam arose to speak at a meeting of the student council, his hand shook until he had difficulty holding his notes, and his knees trembled until he could scarcely stand. He was so scared that he forgot what he had intended to say. It was a very unpleasant experience, but not an unusual one for Sam. It is almost as bad as that when he undertakes to recite in class. He talks glibly enough in private conversation, but before a crowd, even if it is a small group, he is a victim of stage fright.

There isn't any easy way out of Sam's trouble. There must, probably, be months of practice before he rids himself of embarrassment during his public appearances, but he should obtain a great deal of help from a book which has been written for such people as he. It is "Stage Fright and What to Do About It," by Watkins and Karr (Boston: Educational Publishers, \$1.50). The authors have no magic tricks to offer, but they give a number of practical suggestions. They would advise Sam, first of all, to prepare thoroughly for his recitations and his talks before the public. If he masters his lesson or his subject and knows exactly what he wishes to say, he is far less likely to be bothered, and his attacks of stage fright will be less severe. Self-confidence, built on solid preparation, is a valuable asset to any speaker.

* * * *

IT is a month until Christmas, but Martha isn't waiting. Her shopping list is ready. It isn't a very long list, for she can't afford to buy many presents and they can't be expensive. All the more reason, she says, why she should make her preparations well in advance so that she can be careful and unhurried in her purchases. Martha is like that—always ready for every emergency. Her lessons are always well prepared, and she is never obliged to cram for an examination. Yet she never seems to be in a hurry. She seldom burns midnight oil. Her friends wonder how she manages to get ahead of the game on every occasion. The reason is, of course, that she is methodical. She has a time for her work and a time for play and entertainment. She keeps her work in shape as she goes along. Her tasks do not chase her or worry her. She has them in hand. She doesn't find it hard to do this. In fact, she says that, once one gets into the swing of it, it is easy to follow a schedule and saves one a great deal of anxiety and embarrassment. She says she doesn't work so hard as do some of her friends who are always behind time and in difficulties. She simply does first things first, and sails along on an unruffled course while others are hurried and worried and jostled about with their last-minute duties.

* * * *

MR. JACKSON is writing a check to the Community Chest. He is somewhat frightened at what he has done, for it is a large contribution. He wonders if it is too large. If he sends this check to the Community Chest, he will be obliged to drive his old car for another year. But, after all, he asks himself, why shouldn't he? It is a good car. He won't suffer if he uses it another year, and several families may suffer if he refuses the check. He must balance the pleasure he would have in riding about in a brand new car against the pleasure he would have in knowing he has saved a number of people from hunger or cold.

And, when it comes to a question of that kind, there is no doubt of Jackson's decision, for he is a real humanitarian. He cannot enjoy comfort if other people are suffering; that is, if he is in a position to help them. Some people think he is very generous, but he doesn't think so. It isn't anything to brag about, he thinks, to give until it hurts a little. It is just ordinary decency. He thinks one should be ashamed to spend money for needless luxuries while children in the neighborhood are obliged to go without milk or shoes. He isn't a fanatic. He doesn't deprive himself of needed things, but he can be happy only if he shares some of the good things of life which he has in abundance.

* * * *

MRS. ADAMS, unlike Mr. Jackson, doesn't give to the Community Chest. If people are poor it is their own fault, she says. She often argues that people should get nothing they do not work for. One time when she made that remark Miss Jones, the high school history teacher, had the nerve to inquire, "How would you get your food and clothing, Mrs. Adams, if that rule were rigidly applied? How much have you worked this year?" Mrs. Adams' face grew purple with anger. She was so indignant that she couldn't reply. The next day she reported to the Board of Education that Miss Jones was a Fifth Columnist. She complains because problems of poverty, unemployment, and housing are studied in the high school. She says these studies tend to make the students discontented. In other years she has called all such studies "un-American," but now she has given up the use of that term. She likes "Fifth Column" better.

* * * *

"WHAT are you two so serious?" Dick inquires. "You are always talking about some old book or magazine. Can't you think of anything more interesting than that?" "Well, what have you to offer?" Donald replies. "We are in the market for the most interesting ideas we can find. Mildred has just read 'From Many Lands,' a book by Louis Adamic which tells about people who have come to America from all parts of the world, and about what they can do for America. We have been discussing some of these nationalities, and comparing the people Adamic writes about with the boys and girls of those same nationalities—the boys and girls here in this school."

Mildred adds that the book helps her to understand America, and that it gives her a sympathetic interest in certain types of Americans whom she has always simply regarded as "foreigners." She says she likes to read a book like this and then to apply what she has read to her daily thinking or observations. This seems to her to be more interesting than mere idle gossip about the people one knows. She denies that she and Donald are overserious. They have as much fun as anyone, but they think that such conversations as the one Dick interrupted can be substituted now and then for the chatter and wisecracking in which nearly everyone indulges much of the time.





• Vocational Outlook •

Medicine

FOR some years there has been rather heated debate on the question of crowding in the medical profession. So long, of course, as there are sizable numbers of people who fail to get adequate medical care, it cannot honestly be said that the medical field is overcrowded. Nevertheless, it remains true that doctors are so unevenly distributed throughout the country as to make it appear, in some places at least, that there are far more of them than are needed. As a matter of fact, there is but one doctor for every 815 persons in the country, a high rate by comparison with other countries perhaps, but not too high under ideal conditions that would allow everyone to secure all the medical attention he needed.

The crux of the matter, needless to say, is that conditions are anything but ideal. Doctors tend to concentrate in the cities, where there is the promise of a better living. In rural areas and small towns one doctor is commonly shared by as many as 1,600 persons and many of these lack the means to reach him or to buy his services. This economic problem, by no means wholly confined to rural areas, has been the subject of much discussion lately and it may be that some solution will eventually be found, either in the form of compulsory health insurance, cooperative clinics, or some other device for lowering the cost of medical care. In the meantime, young men should bear in mind that until a solution is found the medical profession cannot support an immediate "invasion."

As it happens, any such "invasion" would probably be thwarted at the gates of the 80-odd recognized schools which each year reject half of those who apply for admission. An excellent scholastic record, including a college education with at least two years of "pre-med" work, is the first requirement of a prospective medical student, and the competition is so keen that a boy owes it to himself to make sure in advance that he can stand the pace. While in high school, the student looking forward to a medical career should take English, foreign languages, and as many of the science subjects as he can take.

Tuition in medical school varies, ranging from \$300 to \$600 a year in private universities, less in state universities. No student should count on working his way through medical school, because his studies will monopolize most of his time. After he has obtained his "M.D." and spent a fifth year serving in a hospital as an intern, the young doctor, if he is going to open an office, must be prepared for an initial outlay of \$1,800 to \$3,300 for equipment.

Not all the nation's 165,000 doctors have their own offices, nor do all of them even have a practice. More than a quarter of them are employed in clinics, hospitals, laboratories, and many of these confine themselves exclusively to research. Doctors engaged in private practice are known either as general practitioners or specialists,

but it is difficult to draw a line between the two categories, since most enterprising physicians have a particular field which they study constantly and in which they become specialists. Of course, to become a recognized specialist in a particular field requires intensive study and a capacity to do original and creative research. Obstetrics and pediatrics are important special fields, especially good for women doctors, who may find themselves at a disadvantage in other fields. There are 7,000 women doctors practicing today, but they have had to overcome serious handicaps.

While the young doctor cannot hope to make much more than his expenses during his first year of practice, his earnings after that mount rather rapidly. The American Medical Association estimates that in his first five years a doctor averages \$3,108 a year and almost \$5,000 a year in his next five.

Foreign Sabotage in United States Creates Deep Feeling of Concern

Foreign sabotage a serious threat to the United States?

One night last September a series of violent explosions demolished the Kenvil, New Jersey, plant of the Hercules Powder Company. Exactly two months later, similar explosions destroyed buildings of the United Railway Signal Company in New Jersey and the Trojan Powder Company and the Burton Powder Works in Pennsylvania. Of this triple disaster, Secretary of War Stimson remarked dryly, "The regularity with which the blasts occurred, 8, 8:10, and 8:20 o'clock, might suggest Teutonic efficiency." In the four disasters, 65 people lost their lives, and the property damage was large. Last week another explosion partially wrecked a Pennsylvania chemical works.

There have been other incidents, too. A Seattle shipyard, which is converting ships into Navy transports, reports injury of a deliberate nature to five pieces of machinery, one of which was so badly wrecked that it took a week to repair. A little over a month ago, a time bomb was found on the United States Army transport *Republic*, carrying 1,130 soldiers, officers, and officers' wives and children from San Francisco to New York. Minor, but deliberate, damage to naval vessels has been discovered here and there.

These incidents take Americans back to the days of 1915 and 1916 when Britain and Germany were locked in their first great struggle. The United States was feeding the British war machine then, too, and Germany was hitting back in an undercover war on the plants and the ships that were supplying her enemy. Strikes were fomented in arms factories. Mysterious blasts occurred at explosives plants. Bombs were hidden on outbound munitions ships. In July 1916, 250 carloads of shells and explosives blew up at the Black Tom terminal, Bayonne, New Jersey, showering the harbor with shrapnel and smashing over a million dollars' worth of windows.

Americans are wondering whether his-

tory is repeating itself. They know German secret agents have been at work here, for in 1938 the Federal Bureau of Investigation uncovered a spy ring headed by a Dr. Ignatz T. Griebl, whose files contained lists of Nazi contacts in plane factories and shipyards. They know that today the FBI is regularly shadowing several times as many foreign agents as there were alien enemies jailed during the World War.

But conjecture as to the extent of sabotage is useless. No evidence has yet been produced which would justify the conclusion that any one of the four plant explosions was the result of sabotage. The manufacture of explosives is a dangerous business, and all the more dangerous during a period of rapid expansion. It is possible that the tragedies in New Jersey and Pennsylvania should be attributed to accident.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that three such terrible accidents in less than half an hour is almost unbelievably bad luck. It must be admitted that the bomb on the transport was no accident. There was nothing accidental about Dr. Griebl. The minor damage reported from time to time both afloat and ashore has all the earmarks of sabotage.

For the average citizen it will have to suffice that sabotage is a potential menace and may be an actual one. It is in this light that the FBI appears to view it. The Bureau has drawn up an elaborate plan for the protection of our industry from both saboteurs and spies, and now individual surveys are being made for the 800 key factories which have been given large contracts by the Army and the Navy.

• SMILES •



"I wonder if I could have the answer to Junior's homework before he brings it home."
REYNOLDS IN COLLIER'S

A high school newspaper reports that the gym club is campaigning for members, and adds that a word to the wide is sufficient.
—EXCHANGE

Golf Enthusiast (during downpour): "Now you see the advantages of golf."
Discouraged Beginner: "What advantages?"
"Well, you couldn't play tennis on a day like this."
—SELECTED

"There's that fellow who sought for years to get a political job."
"Well, what does he do now?"
"Nothing—he got the job."
—SELECTED

"Where did John go this afternoon?"
"If the ice is as thick as he thinks it is, he's skating. If it is as thin as I think it is, he's trying to swim."
—BREEZE

A wife is one who decides the family can't afford a \$200 trip, and besides, she'd rather put \$50 with it and buy a fur coat.
—MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

Dad: "Now try and leave the party at a reasonable hour. No more of this coming home with the milkman, young lady."
Daughter: "Why, Dad, of course not. He won't be there."
—SELECTED

The vacuum cleaner salesman finished his demonstration and showed the housewife the amount of dirt which had come from her rug.
"Oh my goodness, isn't that awful," she exclaimed. "I'll have to get rid of that carpet and put down linoleum."
—Montreal STAR

Information Test

Answers to history and geography questions may be found on page 6. If you miss too many of them, a review of history and geography is advisable. Current history questions refer to this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

American History

1. "Fifty-four forty or fight!" referred to a latitude in (a) Maine, (b) Oregon, (c) Alaska, (d) Ontario.

2. Match the following men with their inventions:

Samuel Morse	cotton gin
Cyrus McCormick	sewing machine
Eli Whitney	reaper
Elias Howe	electric telegraph

3. What started an influx of people to California in 1849?

4. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was written by (a) Harriet Beecher Stowe, (b) Susan B. Anthony, (c) Julia Ward Howe, (d) Jane Addams.

5. When did Robert E. Lee and J. E. B. Stuart, heading troops of the United States government, suppress a rebellion?

6. The Confederate general nicknamed "Stonewall" was _____.
_____.
_____.

7. What state was created in 1861 as a result of secession from a seceded state?

Geography

1. A country ruled by a shah is (a) Persia, (b) Turkey, (c) India, (d) Syria.

2. Egypt is not the only country which has pyramids much visited by tourists. Another is (a) Albania, (b) Ethiopia, (c) Mexico, (d) Brazil.

3. What country controls the waterway from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean?

4. A country called "land of lakes" or "land of marshes" is (a) Norway, (b) Hungary, (c) Saudi Arabia, (d) Finland.

5. Which of these cities is the capital of free China? (a) Peiping, (b) Nanking, (c) Chungking, (d) Shanghai.

6. The following countries have two names each. Match them.

Nippon	Irish Free State
Thailand	Persia (Old name)
Iran	Japan
Eire	Siam (Old name)

7. The mountains which lie between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea are the _____ Mountains.

Current History

1. When and why was the CIO organized?

2. What is the essential difference between a craft union and an industrial union?

3. How much has the membership of organized labor increased during the last five years and to what do you attribute the gains?

4. What proposals for additional aid to Britain are being made at this time?

5. Compare Britain's naval position today with her position during the World War.

6. What indications are there that recent "accidents" in the United States may be the result of foreign sabotage?

7. What are the important pieces of unfinished business remaining before Congress?

8. Who is Lord Beaverbrook and what important position does he hold with the British government?

9. What action has the German government taken with respect to the French-speaking inhabitants of Lorraine?

The Week at Home

Congress

After the election, Democratic leaders in Congress hoped that adjournment would be easier to arrange, since members no longer had occasion to fear the wrath of voters who disapproved of such action. But many Republicans felt that adjournment would leave affairs largely—too largely—in the hands of the President. Then, too, there was important business which required action. Just before he left for his Florida vacation, Wendell L. Willkie said, "It must become increasingly apparent to both Democrats and Republicans that Congress should stay in session continuously throughout this critical period."

As we go to press, the issue is still in doubt, but it may be useful to list here three important pieces of legislation which will either receive early consideration or will be classified as "unfinished business":

1. The Walter-Logan bill, which provides for court reviews of all rules and regulations made by such judicial-like federal agencies as the National Labor Relations Board. The House of Representatives passed this bill last June.

2. The Smith amendments to the Wagner Labor Relations Act. These have been approved by the House and have been pending before the Senate Education and Labor Committee for several months.

3. A proposal by Senator King of Utah



W.W.

SO THIS IS AMERICA!
A young arrival from Europe looks at the New York skyline from the porthole of a ship.

to permit Britain to buy arms on credit. A resolution to this effect is now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

4. The Ramspeck bill, which would permit the bringing of thousands of government employees into classified civil service jobs with permanent status. As this is being printed, the bill is being sent from a joint committee to be voted upon in both houses, and final action may have been taken before this paper reaches its readers.

Housing Program

Providing living accommodations for our army of defense workers will cost the United States \$700,000,000. Fortunately, a large part of this sum will eventually be

The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December and three issues from the middle of August to the first week in September) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester. For a term shorter than a semester the price is 3 cents a week.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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HIGHWAY OF TOMORROW

WESTINGHOUSE

"A roadway that has caught up with the automobile" is one description which has been made of the Pennsylvania Turnpike. Motorists who have used the highway since its opening a short time ago, report that travel is safe, speedy, and comfortable. All curves and other possibly dangerous places are lighted for night driving.

recovered, if present plans work out, by selling the houses to private investors as soon as possible.

The building industry, long in an ailing condition, is greatly cheered by the news that the housing program is to be handled largely by private enterprise. The defense housing coordinator, Charles F. Palmer, has announced that it is the policy of the National Defense Advisory Commission to put the work in the hands of private builders wherever that is practicable.

Mr. Palmer believes that the housing boom, if properly managed, will be of lasting benefit. Houses of the kind which are to be built in defense industry areas can be built in slum sections, too, when the emergency is over. He sees in housing an industry capable of taking up the post-war slack. When peace forces the war industries to unload their men, unemployment can be avoided, he believes, by a tremendous rehousing program which will pay its own way. He points out that this was done by the Netherlands during the depression which followed the World War.

Dies Committee

Representative Martin Dies of Texas, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, wants to take a hand in the war on spies and saboteurs (see page 3). "With all due respect to the Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation," he says, "I think this country's whole approach to the problem must be radically revised."

According to Mr. Dies, we have been making the same mistake that the nations of western Europe made—waiting until foreign agents could be caught in the act before apprehending them. The Dies Committee is ready to act immediately. It has conclusive evidence, says its chairman, that German, Italian, Japanese, and Russian agents in the United States are cooperating closely and pooling their information. "Their immediate objectives," he says, "are to prevent us from arming quickly and from giving aid to Britain. To do this they must commit acts of sabotage."

Dies says he has proof that consular representatives are connected with Fifth Column activities in America. Further, he has compiled a list of 300,000 persons of "questionable loyalty," and he "will insist that the key people be exposed one by one."

To do this, Dies needs both money and authority. Since his committee was created in 1937 it has received appropriations totaling \$235,000. Now he asks for \$1,000,000.

Canadian Airmen

Canada's flying schools run into difficulty in the winter, for the days are short and good flying weather is rather rare. For this reason, the Dominion is eager to train as many pilots as possible in southern United States. President Roosevelt has ruled that foreign pilots have a legal right to attend private schools in this country.

Arrangements have been made for 10

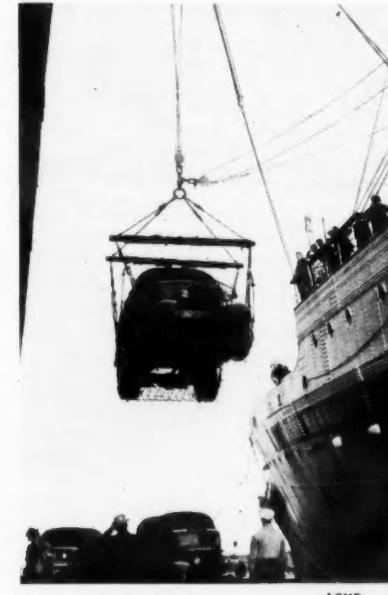
British fliers or aerial navigators to take courses in transoceanic flight at the navigation school for long-range flying maintained by Pan-American Airways at Miami, Florida. The number is small because the United States Army wants to guard against interference with its plan to train 850 cadets at this school in successive 50-man classes.

Much more ambitious is the project disclosed by Lieutenant Clyde Pangborn, former transatlantic flier now employed by the Canadian government to supply information to United States airmen interested in joining the Royal Canadian Air Force. According to Lieutenant Pangborn, the Civil Aeronautics Authority has approved plans for training 4,000 Canadian student fliers. Five schools located in Georgia, Florida, Oklahoma, Texas, and California are to start at once with 100 men each. Five other schools will be sent students by the first of the year. All students are to be given 10-week courses.

Stephen Foster

The first musician to be elected to New York University's Hall of Fame is Stephen Collins Foster. This Pennsylvanian who achieved fame through writing songs of the south is the author of "Old Folks at Home," "Swanee River," "My Old Kentucky Home," "O Susanna," and 125 or more other melodies.

Foster's career reached its peak with the publication of "Old Black Joe" in 1860. Going to New York, he ground out 48 mediocre works, and his popularity began to decline. In January 1864, he died penniless and almost forgotten in a hospital charity ward. His songs have kept his name constantly before the American people, how-



SUPPLIES FOR HAWAII

U. S. Pacific defenses are being augmented at all points. The above picture was taken as the liner Washington prepared to depart for Hawaii with 400 National Guardsmen, 1,000 skilled civilian workers, and tons of supplies and equipment.

ever, and efforts were made both in 1930 and 1935 to secure his election to the Hall of Fame. This year, just a century after the publication of his earliest known work, he has been honored in the Famous Americans series of commemorative stamps and by the Hall of Fame, as well.

The Hall of Fame for Great Americans was founded in 1900 and housed on the campus of New York University. In the colonnade are placed busts of the men and women chosen by the 110 electors.

Dr. Millis

The appointment of Dr. Harry Alvin Millis as head of the National Labor Relations Board brings back to Washington a man who served on the old NRA Labor

Board of the days before the Wagner Act.

Millis is a native of Indiana, where he was born May 14, 1873. He decided on teaching as a career, and after graduating from the University of Indiana he earned first his M.A. and then his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. He married in 1901 and

next year took a position as professor of economics and sociology at the University of Arkansas.

In 1903 he went to California to teach at Stanford University. After nine years he left to head the department of economics of the University of Kansas. He became professor of economics at the University of Chicago in 1916, and was made chairman of the department in 1928.

While he was teaching, Dr. Millis undertook work in fields outside the academic sphere. In California he served as western director of investigations for the United States Immigration Commission. In Chicago he was director of investigations for the Illinois State Health Insurance Commission. From 1919 to 1923 he was chairman first of the trade board and later of the board of arbitration for the men's clothing industry, bodies which endeavor to keep peace between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Chicago clothing manufacturers.

Soon he found himself with a reputation as an arbitrator. In 1923 he accepted a seat on the arbitration panel supported by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Printing Pressmen's Union. He served on the Labor Board in 1934 and 1935. Recently he has been acting as umpire between the General Motors Corporation and the United Automobile Workers. He has also been directing the Twentieth Century Fund survey of collective bargaining in American industry.

Dr. Millis is naturally a strong believer in arbitration. He feels that there are few labor problems which could not be solved if employers and employees were willing to sit down together and talk things over.

The Week Abroad

Lorraine Exodus

Nearly every American at some time in his life has read Daudet's famous little story of the Franco-Prussian War called "The Last Lesson." It told in a moving way of the last class in French grammar of a school in Alsace-Lorraine where the Germans were about to impose their language upon the conquered French. There was a lazy little French boy who had never studied his French grammar and who bitterly and tearfully regretted it as the schoolmaster, kindly and serious that morning, extolled the beauties of the French language. Finally the teacher could not speak and on the blackboard he wrote *Vive la France!* "That is all," he said simply, "it is finished."



ALL IT TAKES IS A LITTLE COURAGE
SHOEMAKER IN CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

"The Last Lesson" was only one story of one Alsatian boy. But it pictured the grief of a people—French and German alike—who have been shuttled back and forth between French and Germans for centuries. Annexed by France during the Napoleonic wars, by Germany after the Franco-Prussian War, by France again after the World War, Alsace and Lorraine are now reverting once again to Germany.

Scenes more anguished than any wrought by the former shifts of sovereignty were experienced in this region, last week, as the Germans ordered the 800,000 French of Lorraine to choose between moving into unoccupied France, or into the bleak plains of Poland. No warning was given in advance. The French were given a few hours to pack what few belongings they could carry with them. No one was permitted to take more than \$40 with him. Stunned by the suddenness of the order, the exiles chose France. The farms, homes, and businesses into which the work of many lifetimes had gone were left behind. Germans were already moving in as the great exodus began. They ap-

parently intended not only to take over its industries and rich iron mines, but to wipe out all traces of French civilization forever.

Repercussions in France

Hardly had the news of the expulsion of the French-speaking people from Lorraine become known, however, when the French government at Vichy began to show greater signs of firmness than at any time since the armistice. In an official communiqué, Marshal Pétain announced that Germany had acted in violation of the armistice terms. The aged marshal was bitter. Among the French people there welled up a wave of patriotic indignation. Bands in the streets played the *Marche Lorraine*. The tri-color appeared in lapels, on hats. While Vice-Premier Laval hastened to talk with German authorities in an effort to reach some compromise agreement, the French fleet quietly and mysteriously slipped out of Toulon. Where it was bound no one seemed to know.

Hitler's expulsion of the French people from Lorraine has brought to a head a crisis that has been brewing for some months among French leaders. Many prominent Frenchmen believe that Laval has gone too far in giving way to the Germans. Some even suspect he aspires to become "Hitler's man" in France. Upon several occasions Marshal Pétain has refused to accede to agreements apparently negotiated by his vice-premier. A sharper form of dissension, however, has come from General Maxime Weygand, who has established himself in North Africa, refusing to obey orders to return to France. It is believed that Weygand is now awaiting the outcome of the talks between Vichy and Berlin. If he feels that France is being betrayed, he may possibly lead the North African colonies into revolt against Laval and Hitler.

Those Crafty Greeks

Anxious to restore her shaken prestige, Italy has been reorganizing her forces in Albania for a second thrust at Greece. New contingents have been ferried across the Strait of Otranto to the crippled Albanian ports, bomb-pitted airfields have been hastily made usable, and a propaganda campaign has been intensified in Italy to conceal the extent of the Fascist losses during the first month of the Greek war.

That these losses were not the work of a highly talented publicity bureau in Athens was confirmed some days ago by none other than Mussolini himself. The Duce did not say directly that his armies had sustained any major losses. But in one of his rare public addresses, he did admit that Greece is a "crafty enemy," and pointed out that after all it was unimportant

whether the Greeks were defeated in two weeks or two months.

The Italian dictator was obviously piqued by the reverses sustained by his armies; but it was no less obvious that he was determined to achieve final victory, even if it involves asking for German support. The Italian press in the last few days has been pointing to Italian participation in the German air attacks upon the British Isles and it emphasizes that it would be quite natural for the German air force now to cooperate with the Fascists in an aerial blitzkrieg on Greece.

The Beaver

Next to Winston Churchill, the busiest official in England today is probably Canada-born Lord Beaverbrook, the minister of aircraft production. An energetic little man, for many years the victim of affectionate ridicule in London intellectual circles, he was placed in charge of aircraft production last May and has since done wonders in speeding the planes off the assembly lines.

Beaverbrook is no newcomer to the British public. He has been shocking it into taking notice of him for over 30 years. When he quit school at the age of 18 to wash medicine bottles in a drugstore in a small Canadian town, he had little notion of ever moving to England, let alone of ever becoming one of its most prominent statesmen. But even then he was restless, nervously ambitious, anxious to escape the "gentle poverty" of a Presbyterian preacher's home.

By the age of 30, Beaverbrook, then known as simple Max Aitken, had accumulated a fortune. Canada seemed to offer too limited a scope for his ambitions so he moved to England, dabbled in politics, and, during the World

War, became a power behind the government. Then, after the war, he decided to enter the newspaper field. Buying up a newspaper that was losing money at the rate of \$2,000,000 a year, Beaverbrook embarked upon a circulation drive that was to become memorable in the newspaper world. Offering circulation prizes in a fashion that astounded other publishers, Beaverbrook before long not only set the *Daily Express* on its feet again but had it making huge profits.

Convoy System

The recent attack upon a British convoy of 38 merchant ships in the North Atlantic by one of the two pocket-battleships remaining to Germany has drawn attention to the hazardous voyages undertaken week after week by fleets of cargo vessels bound for England. Huddled together in groups ranging from 30 to 70 ships, they are guarded by swift naval craft much as a troop of cavalry might guard a train of



KILLER OF THE SEA

A German motor torpedo boat which, according to Nazi reports, was responsible for the sinking of 33,000 tons of British shipping, including two laden tankers. Torpedo boats are fast and difficult to hit.

wagons. The convoy system is not new. The old Spanish empire builders used it to guard their treasure-laden galleons enroute from the New World to Spain. During the World War the Allies and the United States used it extensively.

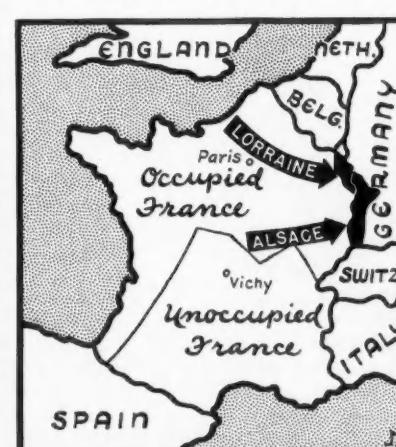
There are two principal assembly points for convoys crossing the Atlantic to Britain. Ships from Canada and northern United States ports gather at Halifax, Nova Scotia; vessels from southern ports, from the Caribbean, and Latin America, assemble at Bermuda. There are sometimes weeks of delay before the convoy is ready and sets off to sea in a zigzag line, perhaps 50 miles long. The ships depart secretly. They follow a secret course, zigzagging according to a prearranged schedule. To escape detection no radios are used. At night the only lights are hooded lanterns in the stern of each vessel. A few days out from Bermuda or Halifax the destroyers turn back. A mysterious fleet, known as the Ocean Escort Service, then materializes suddenly out of the empty ocean, and accompanies the ships to a point about 700 miles west of the British coast, where a third fleet takes over, and shepherds the convoy to British ports.

The greatest danger in a convoy is that one or two ships may fall behind and become helpless prey to a submarine. When the shores of England are approached, German observation planes may appear over the horizon, radioing information to the submarine base at Lorient, France. In the event of attack some destroyers race for the attacker, some drop smoke screens to hide the fleet. The task of guarding the convoys has become so difficult since September, that Britain may be forced to use some of her big new battleships.

Oriental Auction

An apparent Japanese deal to obtain the cooperation of Thailand (formerly Siam) for a drive down the southeastern coast of Asia has met with obstacles altogether unexpected in Tokyo. The Japanese have been hoping that Thailand would join them in ousting the remnants of French rule in Indo-China and for weeks they have been discussing the terms of the bargain with Siamese authorities. The scheme, according to reliable accounts, would give Thailand territory in Indo-China to which she has been laying claim for years. Japan, as her share of the spoils, was to move down to the Indo-China port of Saigon, whence at the right time she could strike at the British base of Singapore and at the Dutch East Indies.

But the British, it now appears, have also been busy making offers to the Siamese. This is particularly distressing to officials in Tokyo because the British are in a position to make even better bids for Thailand's support. In addition to supporting Thailand's claims for territory, London is said to have offered huge loans to the Thailand government to enable it to expand its industries and its defenses. The offer has the added attraction because it is said to have the blessing of the United States, which, with England, is seeking to stem Japanese advances in the South Pacific.



GALLOWAY PHOTO



ALSACE AND LORRAINE
The French-speaking peasants and workers of Lorraine have been ordered by Germany to leave their homes and go either south into unoccupied France or east to Poland. The French government at Vichy protested the Nazi plan to Germanize the province which, along with Alsace, has long been a bone of contention between France and Germany.

The Vital Question of Aid to Britain

(Concluded from page 1)

mercial and industrial equipment necessary to keep her own war industries in operation. Already this year our exports to the United Kingdom have risen 88 per cent over the value of last year's exports; those to Canada have increased by 55 per cent. In January, 44 per cent of our total exports were going to the British Empire. By September, the proportion had risen to 66 per cent. In all, the British Purchasing Commission, having absorbed all French orders, has contracted for nearly \$1,500,000,000 worth of goods in this country.

Future Help

We have summarized above the assistance which has already been given. But what of future help? The war is not yet over. Spring may bring a renewal of furious attacks upon the British Isles. In anticipation of them, it should be noted that Britain is menaced in two ways—the remedy for which may lie only in purchases in the United States. She is menaced in the air, and needs many more planes. She is menaced on the high seas, where German aircraft and submarines are inflicting heavy damage upon her shipping, and for this reason needs more merchant ships, more naval craft, and more big flying boats to patrol the sea lanes.

Outnumbered seven to four in the air, Britain is striving desperately to narrow the numerical gap between the Royal Air Force and the air fleets of Germany and Italy. Her production of aircraft is thought to be between 1,400 and 1,800 planes a month, at present, as opposed to Germany's rate of 2,000 to 3,000 planes per month. The British fly excellent planes, of course, their pilots seem superior to German airmen, and they have been able to prevent Germany from obtaining mastery of the air at any time. But if they are to prevent German aircraft from raiding England day and night, week after week, they must make up the discrepancy by purchasing aircraft in the United States in large numbers.

During the summer, the British were able to obtain from 200 to 300 planes a month from us. The number is now increasing. Our factories are now turning out about 950 military planes each month, and under a recent ruling, the British are to obtain roughly half of them as they come off the assembly line. The British hope to be receiving 1,000 a month from us by February, and the schedule calls for them to receive 3,000 monthly by the middle of 1942. It is not certain, however, that our factories will be able to meet that schedule. They may be able to achieve or even to exceed it if automobile, as well as aircraft,



BRITISH COMBINE

"BRIDGE OF SHIPS" TO ENGLAND
Losses in merchant shipping have been mounting during recent months as Britain has been unable to provide her convoys with sufficient destroyer protection. Destroyers and ships may figure heavily in America's "aid to Britain" program as it develops.

provided they take no oath of allegiance to the British King.

Additional Proposals

Specific proposals are now being made in regard to ways in which other types of aid, such as these, can be increased. It has been suggested, for example, that the United States permit the Canadians to train their pilots in the southern part of the United States during winter months when weather conditions hamper such operations in Canada. It has also been suggested that we turn over to Britain some of our "flying fortresses," mammoth bombers which, because of their long range, would be valuable for operations in the Mediterranean and Near East and against such distant spots as the Czech munitions plants. But we now have only 46 of these, and the Army wants 1,100 as soon as possible. The British would like to obtain some of our giant flying boats to patrol the North Atlantic sea lanes, where German submarines and surface raiders have lately been destroying a great deal of British shipping.

This brings us to another serious factor in the situation. American goods can only be of use to the British if they can be shipped to the British Isles. Today the free flow of this traffic is being seriously impaired by German naval and underseas crafts. We have mentioned the growing danger to Britain's sea-borne commerce (which carries with it an ominous menace to Britain's own security) in previous issues of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. There is some doubt, however, as to whether Americans in general understand how serious the situation really is.

It will be remembered that Britain's shipping position became serious during the World War, even though circumstances were more favorable. In 1914, for example, the British possessed 11,328 large and small merchant ships; in 1939 they had 9,488. In 1918, when the German submarine menace had become so great that only six weeks' supply of food remained in Britain, the British had 527 destroyers—the slender, but powerful and speedy craft best adapted to hunting down and destroying submarines. In addition they had the support of the French, Italian, Japanese, and American navies. Today Britain has but 200 destroyers, including the 50 recently obtained from the United States, and the support of no other navy.

While it is true that Germany maintained a much more powerful navy in 1914-18 than she does today, Britain has lost a great deal of her advantage in tonnage because of the fact that she must split her fleet to hold the Italians in check in

the Mediterranean, to watch the Japanese in the Far East, to hold the North Sea area, to guard the stream of ships crossing the North Atlantic, and to roam the seas of the world on the lookout for Nazi surface raiders.

Naval Position

At the beginning of the present war the British possessed about 4,000 ships large enough for this purpose. About a quarter of these have been sent to the bottom. At present the rate of destruction nearly equals that of the worst period of 1917. Calling the U-boat menace more deadly than that of the airplane Prime Minister Churchill referred to Britain's shortage of destroyers, about a month ago, observing that:

We have been, during the last month, at the lowest point of our flotilla strength. The threat of invasion has always to be met and the great forces we are maintaining in the Mediterranean, in addition to escorts necessary to the protection of our innumerable convoys, have imposed upon the Royal Navy a gigantic task . . .

The situation has improved somewhat, of course. By severely damaging three of Italy's six battleships, as well as several heavy Italian cruisers in recent Mediterranean raids, Britain has been enabled to transfer some of her Mediterranean fleet to the Atlantic. German reports that a pocket-battleship sunk 38 ships in a British North Atlantic convoy, a short time ago, have been whittled down by the arrival of 30 of those ships at various ports.

The British are building merchant ships very rapidly. Five new battleships are nearing completion. In addition to having gained control of many Norwegian, Danish, and Dutch vessels, Britain recently purchased 19 old but usable American freighters, and placed a \$50,000,000 order for new cargo ships to be built in this country. But, Churchill continued:

When I speak of our shipping tonnage not being appreciably diminished from the beginning of the war, it must be remembered that our shipping is not so fruitful in war as in peacetime because the ships have to go a long way round and often to zigzag, and there are delays in the marshaling of convoys and congestions at ports.

Ways to Help

There are several ways in which we can aid Britain on the seas. We can continue to sell her merchant ships. We might sell more old naval craft. We can give and are giving indirect help. By taking over from Britain the watch on French naval craft in Martinique and by keeping a huge fleet in the Pacific, near Japan, we can relieve many British ships for duty elsewhere. It has been suggested that we might assume convoy duty on this side of the Atlantic, and patrol Canadian and British



THE WAR OF NERVES
HALLADAY IN PROVIDENCE JOURNAL

plants begin work in earnest on planes and plane accessories. Negotiations are now under way with automobile manufacturers to see what they can and will do.

American shipments of high-test airplane gasoline have given the British one advantage over the Germans, who are short on it. Several hundred American pilots, now on voluntary duty in England, have also strengthened the Royal Air Force. They are permitted to retain their American citizenship by our Department of State

colonial waters in this hemisphere.

It has been suggested also that we grant Britain large credits, and put our industries on a war basis, thus increasing a hundred-fold our present rate of armament production. But such a move would disarrange our industry, with the danger that a serious depression might follow peace—when it came.

Should we, nevertheless, gear our industries to the British war machine, regardless of the consequences? Such a policy is favored by those who believe we must help England more if she is to win, and that she must win if we are to avert the calamity of a Nazi world revolution. It is also favored by those who think the crisis so dangerous that America must put every ounce of energy into the creation of a great war industry for her own defense. It is opposed by those who believe that England can triumph without us, or that a British victory is not vital to us. It is opposed also by those who think we have enough time to prepare for our own defense at the present speed of the preparedness program.

References

"Should We Help the British Now?" *Current History*, July 1940, pp. 27-31. Frederick L. Schuman says "Yes," and Norman Thomas says "No."

"Rush All Possible Aid to Britain," by Robert Sherwood. *Reader's Digest*, September 1940, pp. 12-17. The well-known playwright adds his voice to the call for more aid to England.

"Defend America First," by Hugh Johnson. *Vital Speeches*, October 1, 1940, pp. 763-765. We are jeopardizing our own defenses by sending so much aid to Britain, says General Johnson.

"America to England," by David L. Cohn. *The Atlantic*, August 1940, pp. 154-158. The author examines some of the choices which are or will be facing us in the field of foreign policies.

Information Test Answers

American History

- Oregon.
- Morse, electric telegraph;
- McCormick, reaper; Whitney, cotton gin;
- Howe, sewing machine.
- The discovery of gold in 1848.
- Harriet Beecher Stowe.
- When they headed the detachment of marines which captured John Brown at Harper's Ferry, 1859.
- Thomas J. Jackson.
- West Virginia.

Geography

- (a) Persia.
- (c) Mexico.
- Turkey.
- (d) Finland.
- (c) Chungking.
- Nippon, Japan; Thailand, Siam; Iran, Persia; Eire, Irish Free State.
- Caucasus.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Otranto (oe-trahn'-toe), Pétain (pay'tan), Saigon (si-gon'-i as in ice, o as in old), Thailand (ti'lahnd-i as in ice), Toulon (too-loan'), Weygand (vay'-gahn').

Labor Peace Is Main Issue As AFL and CIO Hold Conventions

(Concluded from page 1)

ment at the different types of labor organizations or unions and see how they affect the present division of the labor movement.

There are two principal types of labor unions—the craft or trade union and the industrial union. Craft unions are those composed exclusively of workers in the same trade, such as carpenters, machinists, plumbers, moulderers, and so on. They are organized according to their skill, to the type of work they perform, and not according to the industry in which they work. The members of the carpenters' union, for example, may work in a number of different industries; some may work in the steel plants, others in the building trades, others in an automobile factory. They do not think of themselves, however, as automobile or steel workers, but consider themselves carpenters. The same is true of other skilled workers.

Under this type of labor organization, the workers in a given plant or industry may be represented in a dozen different unions. Those who perform one type of work will belong to their union; those who do different operations will be members of other craft unions. In a certain factory, for example, certain of the workers may be members of the machinists' union, others of the electricians', others of the carpenters', and still others of the teamsters' union.

Industrial Unions

The industrial union, on the other hand, is organized according to the industry in which the worker is employed rather than to the skill or type of work he performs. Thus we have the mine workers' union which takes in all types of workers, the steel workers' union, the automobile workers' union, the rubber workers' union, and so on. It makes no difference whether the



WILLIAM GREEN
President of the American Federation of Labor.

workers are electricians, riveters, machinists, firemen; they all belong to the same union.

In the early days of American industry, the craft type of labor organization was admirably suited to the needs of the individual worker. Most of the shops were small and a majority of the workers in each shop performed the same type of operation. A foundry, for example, employed chiefly moulderers, a machine shop, machinists, and so on. Mass-production methods had not been introduced requiring scores of different types of skilled workers as well as a larger number of workers of no particular skill—machine tenders for the most part.

It was, in fact, the development of mass-production methods in American industry that gave rise to the movement for the organization of workers along industrial rather than along craft lines. Mass production made it more difficult to organize scattered skilled workers, spread out over many industries, into unions, but it also left out entirely millions of workers with no particular skill at all. As a result, only a small percentage of the total number of

workmen in the country were organized at all.

It would be a mistake to assume that the industrial union came only with the organization of the CIO. A number of powerful industrial unions have existed for several decades. The United Mine Workers of America, for example, the union of which John L. Lewis is president, was organized in 1890 as an industrial union. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, another powerful industrial union, has a long and effective history. Paper workers, brewery workers, and many others were organized along industrial lines. And all these unions were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

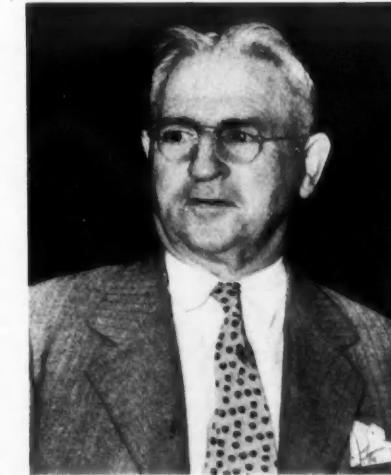
AFL-CIO Dispute

The dispute in the labor movement occurred not because industrial unions were not recognized by the AFL, but because that organization failed to pursue an aggressive policy with respect to organizing the great mass of unskilled workers in the country. Despite the powerful industrial unions that were affiliated with the AFL, it was—and is—predominantly an organization of craft unions. Supporters of the industrial union form of organization had long urged the organization of unskilled workers, and yet the great mass-production industries of the country—steel, rubber, automobile, cement, aluminum, and others—remained unorganized.

It was in order to further the cause of industrial unionism and to organize the great mass-production industries that the CIO was formed. First called the Committee for Industrial Organization, the CIO originally consisted of eight leading unions—the coal miners' union; typographical union; amalgamated clothing workers' union; ladies' garment workers' union; textile workers' union; oil field, gas well, and refinery workers' union; cap and millinery workers' union; and the mine, mill, and smelter workers' union. Later a number of other unions joined the CIO. At first, there was no attempt to form a rival labor organization, but the split widened and finally the CIO unions were expelled from the AFL. In November 1938, a permanent organization was set up and the name changed to the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

This, briefly stated, is the origin of the split in the labor movement. From the beginning, the CIO adopted an aggressive policy in its attempt to organize the workers of the mass-production industries. It invaded the steel industry which, for decades, had been regarded as the citadel of antiunion territory. In February 1937, an agreement was reached between the United States Steel Corporation and the CIO. Other steel companies followed suit. Then came the automobile industry, where remarkable success was met, although considerable bitterness resulted from the sit-down strikes which accompanied the organization campaign.

It cannot be denied that the CIO has



DANIEL TOBIN
Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.



H. S. E.

JOHN L. LEWIS IS IN THE CENTER, AND TO HIS RIGHT AND LEFT ARE PHILIP MURRAY AND SIDNEY HILLMAN.

made remarkable progress in adding to the rolls of organized workers. From an original 1,000,000 workers, its membership has grown to about 4,000,000. It has been argued by opponents of the CIO that this figure includes non-dues-paying members as well as dues-paying and that if only those who pay dues were included, the membership would be considerably smaller. However that may be, the fact remains that the CIO has built a remarkably large organization in a relatively short period of time.

Government Policy

Of course, a large share of the credit for increasing the number of organized workers must go to the Roosevelt administration which, by its labor policies, has greatly facilitated the organization of workers into unions of their own choosing. Workers have been given the protection of the law in forming unions and employers are forbidden to interfere with this right. This policy is reflected in increased membership in the AFL as well as in the CIO. At the time of the split in 1935, the total membership of the AFL was slightly over 3,000,000. Today, it has surpassed the 4,000,000 mark. Thus, whereas in 1935 only 10 per cent of the workers of the nation were organized into labor unions, today nearly a fourth (23 per cent) belong to unions.

Despite the progress made by both the AFL and the CIO in organizing the workers of the nation, much confusion and friction have resulted from the split in organized labor. Frequently employers, willing to sign agreements with labor unions, have been bewildered because rival labor unions have claimed to represent their workers. An AFL union may claim to represent a majority of the workers, and a similar claim may be made by a CIO union. At times strikes have resulted from these "jurisdictional disputes," thus tying up sections of industry and adding to the general ill feeling. The National Labor Relations Board, which was set up to settle difficulties of this kind, has been accused by both the CIO and the AFL of partisanship, depending upon the decisions it has handed down in individual cases.

Obstacles to Peace

One of the greatest obstacles to labor peace is the competition which has grown up between the two rival organizations. Ever since the CIO was formed, the Federation of Labor officials have claimed that it was seeking to become the dominant organization in the field. They claim that the industrial unions are attempting to drive the craft unions out of the field by organizing both skilled and unskilled workers into single large unions. The CIO, it is charged, has not been content to go into industries which were largely unorganized, but it has set up rival unions in industries where AFL unions have long been influential.

That there is considerable truth to these charges no one can deny. It is a fact that there has been competition for members between the rival organizations. But the CIO contends that the AFL is equally guilty; that it has invaded CIO territory

by setting up unions of its own; and that it has resorted to many unfair practices in its attempt to undermine the CIO. Both sides may have legitimate claims with respect to their right to organize workers in specific industries, but the friction which results frequently leads to unfortunate results and is not conducive to the restoration of peace.

What are the present chances of reconciliation? Is the breach between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations so wide that it can no longer be closed? What compromises and concessions will have to be made in the interest of labor peace?

Upon the answers that are given to these questions will depend the future direction of the labor movement in the United States. As we have pointed out earlier in this article, the basic issue has dealt with the type of labor organization into which the workers should form themselves. A solution of the problem will depend, therefore, upon the ability of both groups to make compromises. If the AFL insists that the craft unions shall dominate the labor movement and if the CIO hold fast to the idea of supplanting a majority of the craft unions by industrial unions, it will be impossible to compose the differences. The two organizations will continue along their separate ways and labor peace cannot be attained.

There are a number of encouraging signs, however. One of the more important is the trend toward industrial unionism which has recently been taking place within the AFL. A number of the older craft unions affiliated with the AFL have recently been taking into membership all the workers in certain industries, regardless of the type of work they performed. This is a recognition of the principle of industrial unionism and offers some hope of a reconciliation of the differences which have split the two organizations.

Any reunion of organized labor into a single unit must recognize and must find a place for both craft and industrial unions, for both skilled and unskilled workers. Such a formula may be worked out during the coming months. Perhaps the most encouraging sign is the desire on the part of the masses of both organizations for a settlement of the feud and the restoration of labor peace.

References

"Labor Must Decide," by George W. Alger. *The Atlantic*, June 1940, pp. 758-765. Labor should unite to take advantage of its gains in collective bargaining and thus to strengthen the nation.

"The 31,000,000 Workers," *Fortune*, February 1940, pp. 64-67. "The unions are a problem for the U. S. worker, who is an individualist, but they offer him the best chance."

"Collective Bargaining—By Employers," *Business Week*, October 26, 1940, pp. 39-46. There is greater and more genuine labor peace in San Francisco, because employers admit collective bargaining is here to stay and deal with the unions on a businesslike basis.

"Do You Know Labor?" by James Myers (Washington, D. C.: National Home Library Foundation, 50 cents). A clear, well-rounded discussion of the entire labor problem.



From Knowledge to Action



WE assume that many of you who read this paper listened on Thursday evening, November 14, to the broadcast of America's Town Meeting of the Air, and that you heard the discussion of the important question, "Is This Our War?" This week THE AMERICAN OBSERVER carries that discussion further. On page 1 of this paper you will find an article which gives facts regarding the assistance the United States is giving to England, and on this page we will examine arguments relative to the wisdom of such assistance.

Continued Study

We are doing this because we believe that the problem brought to your attention by the Town Meeting of the Air broadcast is important enough to deserve continued study, thought, and discussion. The speakers whom you heard over the air brought before you one of the great issues of our time. The fate of America for years to come may depend upon the answer which is given to the question which they raise. They could not, however, in the brief time at their command, give you many facts. They could not possibly settle the problem definitely. They merely introduced it. If you listen to a broadcast



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Moderator of Town Hall.

of this kind and then fail to follow up by study and discussion, you will not be doing your full civic duty. The chief value of such a broadcast is that it points out to you big issues and gives you certain clues which will help in your further study. When a question like, "Is this our war?" is introduced, it should serve as a starting point for your study and discussion, and you should keep on reading, thinking, and talking about the problem until you are thoroughly informed about it and until your convictions are formed. Then you should use your influence in favor of the course which you think should be followed.

For the benefit of those who did not hear the broadcast, we will outline very briefly the chief arguments. Two speakers argued that this is our war; that is, that the outcome of it deeply affects America; so deeply that we should help to bring about the defeat of Germany and her allies. These two speakers were Colonel Henry Breckenridge, former assistant secretary of war, and Anne O'Hare McCormick, member of the editorial board of the New York Times. Two speakers argued that this is not our war and that, by taking part in it, we would lose more than we could possibly gain. These two speakers were Mary W. Hillyer, secretary of the Joint Committee for Political Refugees, and Kingman Brewster, editor of Yale News.

Colonel Breckenridge argued as follows: Nine free nations have already been conquered by the dictators, and they will attack us if they win the present war. They have made it clear that their fight

is against the democracies. Germany, Italy, and Japan have made an alliance against us. If Hitler wins, we shall be obliged to arm to the teeth. If Britain falls, we will be confronted by conquerors who have at their disposal resources of nearly all the earth. Our independence would be in danger. Our security will be gone.

Miss Hillyer argued: We prefer that England should win, but our interest in her success is not great enough to justify our going to war. If we should fight for England, we would be fighting not only for democracy, but to defend the British Empire—British imperialism; to defend England's right to hold millions in subjection.

We are in danger from fascism at home as well as from abroad. We should develop here in America a strong democratic nation, where justice reigns, where people are well housed, where there are good schools, universal employment, and prosperity. We will not have as good a chance to do this if we go to war. We can best preserve ourselves against fascism by keeping at peace and making ourselves stronger.

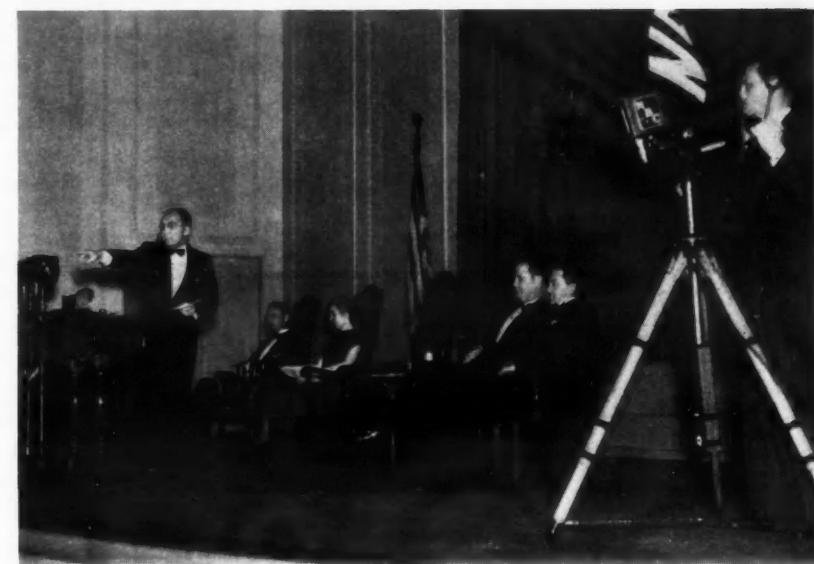
Mrs. McCormick took this position: If England falls, America will be the only democracy left, and it will have a hard time to maintain itself. Nazi ideas will spread. The Nazi way of doing things may triumph even here. We should not go to war, however, to help defeat Germany and Italy. We should give assistance to Britain but it should be short of war. We should stay out, maintain our strength, and help to establish a better and more secure peace in the world.

Mr. Brewster argued that the United States could not be successfully attacked even if England should lose; that is, provided we prepare for our defense. We should permit England to buy goods in this country, but the government should not sell her airplanes, should not convoy merchant ships to England, should not send her our pilots or give aid in any such way as that. We are faced by a world revolution, and America will be strong enough to stem the tide of revolution and work for a better civilization only if she keeps out of war.

After having followed these speeches, you will find that important questions stand out and that they are still unanswered. Among them are:

Will Germany, Italy, and Japan attack the United States if they win the war and conquer England? Will they attempt to seize control in Latin America? Will they discriminate against us in world trade so as to cause us serious injury?

Colonel Breckenridge declared that America would be next in line if England loses the war, but he submitted very little



ON THE STAGE DURING A TOWN HALL BROADCAST

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evidence to prove his point. Mr. Brewster declared that this hemisphere could not be invaded even if England loses, but he brought forward no evidence to establish his case. This is not to the discredit of either of the speakers. They did not have time to do so. Now, of course, no one can prove definitely what will happen if the dictators win, but evidence can be discovered and studied. After this is done, one will still have to do quite a little guessing or speculating. He will be obliged to figure out the answer. But he can do it better if he does the figuring in the light of evidence.

But where can one find evidence on this point? What should he read in order to inform himself? Here is where the Town Hall Advisory Service is important, for those who subscribe to it will obtain a valuable list of references on topics discussed each week on the Town Meeting of the Air program. That is why we have so strongly urged that listeners form themselves into groups and obtain the advisory service (see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, November 11, page 4).

You should, in the long run, learn to find your own references. Most of the important magazine articles are listed by subject in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*. By using this guide, one can find for himself the best current contributions on any problem with which he may be concerned.

Can we build a secure democratic way of living here if the dictator powers win? Miss Hillyer and Mr. Brewster argue that we should keep out of war in order that we may have the opportunity to establish prosperity and stability and justice in America. Can that be done (a) if we

go to war, and (b) if we do not go to war, and Germany and her allies win? Or will we, under such circumstances, be forced into a military way of life, destructive of democracy?

Further reading, study, and discussion should be given to this question. Assertions were made by the speakers, but sufficient evidence was not produced.

What steps can we take now toward the building of a better state of things in the United States?

Our suggestion is that we should: (a) keep speech and study free in the United States, and (b) study all public problems seriously and candidly. That can be done immediately by all students. You may figure out other possibilities along that line. If possible, get your library to secure "America's Last Chance," by Albert Carr (New York: Thos. Y. Crowell. \$2.75). You will find the suggestions in this book thought-provoking.

What action should one take (a) if he believes that this is our war and that we should participate more effectively in defeating Germany, or (b) if he thinks it is not our war and that we should keep clear of entanglements?

We have these suggestions to offer: (a) Inform yourself thoroughly. Have as many facts as possible at your command. Develop convictions.

(b) Express your views freely in private conversation. When you express your ideas in an informed and forceful way, you will convince many people with whom you talk. They will then repeat the arguments you give. And all this will help to build public opinion.

(c) Participate in more formal discussion. If there is a discussion group or club in your school, join it. If not, help to form one, for through such planned discussion ideas are clarified.

(d) Write to organizations which are working for the cause in which you believe. Among organizations favoring aid to England are: Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 West 40th Street, New York; and Union Now, Union House, 10 West 40th Street, New York. Organizations opposing such aid include: National Council for Prevention of War, 532 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.; Youth Committee Against War, 22 East 17th Street, New York; and the America First Committee, 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

(e) Write to your congressman, to the editors of your local papers, to men in or out of office who are known to be influential. Let them know what your convictions are. In this way you will be applying pressure where it is most effective and you will be helping to determine public action.



A QUESTION FROM THE FLOOR DURING A TYPICAL PROGRAM

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